

Reagan's Strategic Outlook:

Reagan's Address to Nation on Nuclear Strategy Toward the Soviet Union

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 22—Following is the text of the speech on arms policy given by President Reagan tonight, as made public by the White House:

The week before last was an especially moving one here in Washington. The Vietnam veterans finally came home once and for all to America's heart. They were welcomed with tears, with pride and with a monument to their great sacrifices. Many of their names, like those of our Republic's greatest citizens, are now carved in stone in this city that belongs to all of us. On behalf of the nation, let me again thank the Vietnam veterans from the bottom of my heart for their courageous service to America.

Seeing those moving scenes, I know mothers of a new generation must have worried about the future of our children and about peace. And that is what I would like to talk to you about tonight—the future of our children and the future of peace in a world where peace is made uneasy by the presence of nuclear weapons.

A year ago I said the time was right to move forward on arms control. I outlined several proposals and said nothing would have a higher priority in this Administration. Now, a year later, I want to report on those proposals and on other efforts we are making to insure the safety of our children and the future.

The prevention of conflict and the reduction of weapons are the most important public issues of our time. Yet, on no other issue are there more misconceptions and misunderstandings. You, the American people, deserve an explanation from your Government on what our policy is on these issues. Too often the experts have been content to discuss grandiose strategies among themselves, and cloud the public debate in technicalities not on a common understanding. The result is that many Americans have become frightened and, let me say, fearful of the future. I am entirely understandable. Unfortunately, much of the information emerging in this debate bears little semblance to the facts.

U.S. After World War II

To begin, let's go back to what the world was like at the end of World War II. The U.S. was the only undamaged industrial power in the world. Our military power was at its peak, and we alone had the atomic bomb. We did not use this wealth and this power to bully, we used it to rebuild.

We raised up the war-ravaged economies, including the economies of those who had fought against us. At first, the peace of the world was untroubled, because we alone were left with any real power, and we were using it for the good of our fellow man. Any potential enemy was deterred from aggression because the cost would have far outweighed the gain.

As the Soviet power grew, it still managed to maintain the peace. The U.S. had established a system of alliances with NATO and the Commonwealth. In addition, we grew even more respected as a world leader with a strong economy and deep moral values. With our commitment to help shape a better world, the U.S. always pursued every diplomatic channel for peace. And for at least 30 years after World War II, the United States still continued to possess a large military advantage over the Soviet Union. Our strength deterred—that is, prevented—aggression against us.

This nation's military objective has always been to maintain peace by preventing war. This is neither a patriotic nor a Republican policy. It is supported by our allies. And most important of all, it has worked for nearly 40 years.

Nuclear Deterrence

What do we mean when we speak of nuclear deterrence? Certainly we do not want such weapons for their own sake. We do not desire excessive forces, or what some people have called overkill. Basically, deterrence is of others' knowing that starting a conflict would be more costly to them than anything they might gain. And yes, it is sadly ironic that in these modern times it still takes weapons to prevent war. I wish that did not.

We desire peace, but peace is a goal, not a policy. Lasting peace is what we hope for at the end of our journey; it does not describe the steps we must take, nor the paths we should follow to reach that goal. I intend to search for peace along two parallel paths: deterrence and arms reduction. I believe these are the only paths that offer any real hope for an enduring peace.

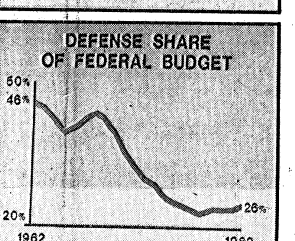
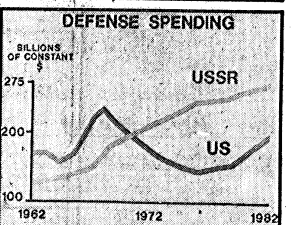
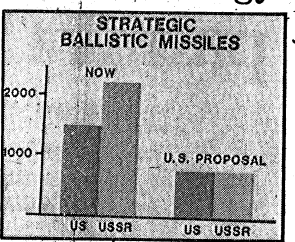
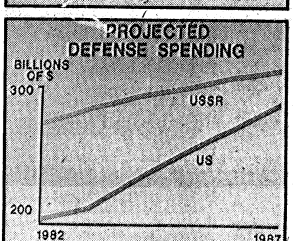
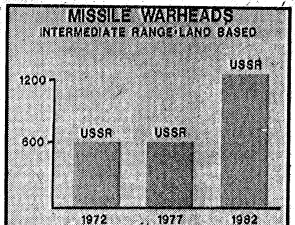
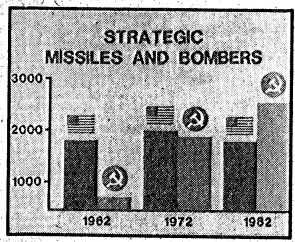
Budapest Intellectuals Appeal For Hungarians in Rumania

VIENNA, Nov. 22 (Reuters)—More than 70 Hungarian intellectuals have appealed to their Government to protest the treatment of ethnic Hungarian intellectuals in neighboring Rumania, dissident sources in Budapest said today.

The appeal was undertaken by Gaspar Miklosz Tomas, 32 years old, writer and philosopher who came to Hungary from Rumania two years ago, the sources, reached by telephone from Vienna, said.

Mr. Tomas said in the appeal that several intellectuals from Rumania had been arrested and mistreated after demanding equal rights for ethnic Hungarians in Rumania had been arrested and mistreated after demanding equal rights for ethnic Hungarians in Rumania had been arrested and mistreated after demanding equal rights for ethnic Hungarians in Rumania.

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Charts President Reagan used to illustrate his speech last night on the MX missile basing plan.

And let me say I believe that if we follow prudent policies, the risk of nuclear conflict will be reduced. Certainly the United States will not use its forces except in response to attack. Through the years, Soviet leaders have also expressed a sober view of nuclear war; and if we maintain a strong deterrent, they are exceedingly unlikely to launch an attack.

Now, while the policy of deterrence has stood the test of time, the things we must do in order to maintain deterrence have changed.

U.S. and Soviet Arms Spending

You often hear that the United States and the Soviet Union are in an arms race. The truth is that while the Soviet Union has raced, we have not. As you can see from this blue U.S. line (See accompanying chart entitled "Defense Spending"), in constant dollars our defense spending in the 1960's went up because of Vietnam and then it went down through much of the 1970's. Now, follow the red line, which is Soviet spending. It has gone up and up and up. In spite of a stagnating Soviet economy, Soviet leaders invest 12 to 14 percent of their country's gross national product in military spending, two to three times the level we invest.

I might add that the defense share of our United States Federal budget has gone way down, too. Watch the blue line again (See accompanying chart, "Defense Share of Federal Budget"). In 1962, when John Kennedy was President, 48 percent, almost half of the Federal budget went to our national defense. In recent years, about one-quarter of our budget has gone to defense, while the share for social programs has nearly doubled. And most of our defense budget is spent on people, not weapons.

The combination of the Soviets' spending more and the U.S. spending proportionately less changed the military balance and weakened our deterrent. Today, in virtually every measure of military power the Soviet Union enjoys a decided advantage.

This chart (accompanying chart, "Strategic Missiles and Bombers") shows the changes in the total number of intercontinental ballistic missiles and bombers. You will see that in 1962 and in 1972, the United States forces remained about the same, despite the fact that at the Soviet side, in 1962, at the time of the Cuban missile crisis, the 50- in a series of closely spaced flights at Warren Air Force Base near Cheyenne, Wyoming.

This plan requires only half as many missiles as the earlier plan and will fit in an area of only 20 square miles. It is the product of around-the-clock research that has been underway since I directed a search for a better, cheaper way. I urge the members of Congress who must pass this plan to listen and examine the facts, before they come to their own conclusion.

Some may question what real progress our military has to do with peace. Well, as I explained earlier, a secure force keeps others from threatening us and that keeps the peace. And just as important, it also increases the products of our significant arms reductions with the Soviets, and that is what we really want. The United States wants deep cuts in the world's arsenal of weapons.

But unless we demonstrate the will to rebuild our strength and restore the military balance, the Soviets have no incentive to negotiate with us. If we had not begun to modernize, the Soviet

missiles considered most threatening by both sides—the intermediate-range missiles based on land. We have no such missiles. The U.S. withdrew its intermediate-range land-based missiles from Europe almost 20 years ago.

The world has also witnessed unprecedented growth in the area of Soviet conventional forces; the Soviets far exceed us in the number of tanks, artillery pieces, aircraft, and ships they produce every year. This is more, when I arrived in this office I learned that in our own forces we had planes that could not fly and ships that could not leave port, mainly for lack of spare parts and crew members.

Soviet Arms Buildup

The Soviet military buildup must not be ignored. We have recognized the problem and together with our allies we have begun to correct the imbalance. Look at this chart (accompanying chart, "Projected Defense Spending") of projected real defense spending for the next several years. Here's the Soviet line. Let us assume the Soviets' rate of spending remains at the level they have followed since the 1960's.

The blue line is the United States. If my defense proposals are passed, it will still take five years before we come close to the Soviet level. Yet the modernization of our strategic and conventional forces will assure that deterrence works and peace prevails.

Our deployed nuclear forces were built before the age of microelectronics. It is not right to ask our young men and women in uniform to fight and operate such antiquated systems. Many have already given their lives in missile explosions and aircraft accidents caused by the old age of their equipment. We must replace and modernize our forces, and that is why I have decided to proceed with the production and deployment of the new ICBM known as the MX.

Three earlier Presidents worked to develop this missile. Based on the best advice I could get, I concluded that the MX is the right missile at the right time. On the other hand, when I arrived in office, I felt the proposal on where and how to base the missile simply cost too much in terms of money, and the impact on our citizens' lives.

Closely Based Sites

I have concluded, however, it is absolutely essential that we proceed to produce this missile, and that we base it in a series of closely spaced flights at Warren Air Force Base near Cheyenne, Wyoming.

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negotiators would know we had nothing to bargain with except talk. They would know we were bluffing without a good hand because they know what we hold—just as we know what is in their hand.

"One-Sided Arms Control"

You may recall that in 1969 the Soviets didn't want to negotiate a treaty banning antiballistic missiles. It was only after our Senate narrowly voted to ban an antiballistic missile program that the Soviets agreed to negotiate. We then reached an agreement.

We also know that one-sided arms control doesn't work. We have tried time and again to set an example by cutting our own forces in the hope that the Soviets will do likewise. The result has always been that they keep building.

I believe our strategy for peace will succeed. Never before has the U.S. proposed such a comprehensive program of nuclear arms control. Never in our history have we engaged in so many negotiations with the Soviets to reduce nuclear arms and find a stable peace. What we are saying to them is: We will modernize our military in order to keep the balance for peace, but wouldn't it be better if we both simply reduced our arsenals to a much lower level?

Let me begin with the negotiations on the intermediate-range nuclear missiles that are currently under way in Geneva. As I said earlier, the most threatening of these forces are the land-based missiles, which the Soviet Union now has aimed at Europe, the Middle East and Asia.

Warheads on Soviet Missiles

This chart (accompanying chart, "Missile Warheads") shows the number of warheads on these Soviet missiles. In 1972 there were 600. The United States was at zero. In 1977 there were 600. The U.S. was still at zero. Then the Soviets began deploying powerful new missiles with three warheads and a reach of thousands of miles—the SS-20. Since then the bar has gone through the roof—the Soviets have added a missile with three warheads every week. Still you see no United States blue on the chart. Although the Soviet leaders earlier this year declared they had frozen deployment of this dangerous missile, they have in fact continued deployment.

Last year, on Nov. 18, I proposed the total, global elimination of all these missiles. I proposed that the U.S. would deploy no comparable missiles, which are scheduled for late 1983, if the Soviet Union would dismantle theirs. We did follow a agreement on the land-based missiles with limits on other intermediate-range systems.

European governments strongly support our initiative. The Soviet Union has thus far shown little indication of taking this major step to zero levels. Yet I believe and I am hoping that, as the talks proceed and we approach the scheduled placement of our new systems in Europe, the Soviet leaders will see the benefits of such a far-reaching agreement.

This summer we also began negotiations on strategic arms reductions, the proposal we call SALT. Here we're talking about intercontinental missiles—the weapons with a longer range than the intermediate-range ones I was just discussing. We are negotiating on the basis of deep reductions. I proposed in May that we cut a number of missiles themselves to an equal number, roughly one-third below current levels. I also proposed that we cut the number of missiles

themselves to an equal number, about half the current U.S. level. Our proposals would eliminate some 4,700 warheads and some 2,250 missiles. I think that would be quite a service to mankind.

Ballistic Missiles

This chart (accompanying chart, "Strategic Ballistic Missiles") shows the current level of United States ballistic missiles, both land- and sea-based. This is the Soviet level. We intend to convince the Soviets it would be in their own best interest to reduce these missiles. Look at the reduced numbers both sides would have under our proposal—quite a dramatic change. We also seek to reduce the total destructive power of these missiles and other elements of U.S. and Soviet strategic forces.

In 1977, when the last Limited Reduction proposed more limited reductions, the Soviet Union refused even to discuss them. This time their reaction has been quite different. Their opening position is a serious one, and even though it doesn't meet our objective of deep reductions, there's no question we're getting in the right direction. One reason for this change is clear. The Soviet Union knows that we are serious about our own strategic programs and that they must be prepared to negotiate in earnest.

We also have other important arms control efforts under way. In talks in Vienna on mutual and balance force reductions, we've proposed cuts in military personnel to a far lower and equal level. And in the 40-nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva, we're working to develop effective limitations on nuclear testing and chemical weapons. The whole world remains outraged by the Soviets' and their allies' use of biological and chemical weapons against defenseless people in Afghanistan, Cambodia and Laos. This experience makes ironclad verification all the more essential for arms control.

There is, of course, much more that needs to be done. In an age when intercontinental missiles can span half the globe in less than half an hour, it's crucial that Soviet and American leaders have a clear understanding of each other's capabilities and intentions.

Accident and Misunderstanding

Last June in Berlin, and again at the U.N. Special Session on Disarmament, I vowed that the U.S. would make every effort to reduce the risks of accident and misunderstanding and to strengthen mutual confidence between the U.S. and Soviet Union. Since then, we've been actively studying detailed measures to implement this Berlin initiative.

Today, I would like to announce some of the measures which I've proposed in a special letter just sent to the Soviet leadership and which I've instructed our ambassadors in Geneva to discuss with their Soviet counterparts. They include how to go beyond some of the suggestions I made in Berlin.

The first of these measures involves advance notification of all U.S. and Soviet test launches of intercontinental ballistic missiles. We will also seek Soviet agreement on notification of all sea-launched ballistic missiles as well as intermediate-range land-based ballistic missiles of the type we're currently negotiating. This would remove surprise and uncertainty at the sudden appearance of such missiles on the warning screens of the two countries.

Exchange of Data

In another area of potential misunderstanding, we propose to the Soviets that we provide each other with advance notification of our major military exercises. Here again, our objective is to reduce the surprise and uncertainty surrounding otherwise sudden moves by either side.

These sorts of measures are designed to deal with the immediate

issues of miscalculation in time of crisis. But there are deeper, longer-term problems as well. In order to clear away some of the mutual ignorance and suspicion between our two countries, I will propose that we both engage in a broad-ranging exchange of basic data about our nuclear forces. I am instructing our ambassadors at the negotiations on an expanded exchange of information. The more one side knows about what the other side is doing, the less room there is for surprise and the more room there is for understanding.

Probably everyone has heard of the so-called hot line, which enables me to communicate directly with the Soviet leadership in the event of a crisis. The existing hot line is dependable and rapid—with both ground and satellite links. But because it is so important, I've directed that we carefully examine any possible improvements to the existing hot line system.

Now, although we've begun negotiations on these many proposals, this doesn't mean we've exhausted our initiatives that could help to reduce the risk of accidental conflict. We'll leave no opportunity unexplored, and we'll consult closely with Senators, Mr. Jackson and Warner, and other members of the Congress who've made important suggestions in this field.

We are also making strenuous efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to additional countries. It would be tragic if we succeeded in reducing existing dangers, only to have new threats emerge in other areas of the world.

Peace Above All Else

Earlier I spoke of America's contributions to peace following World War II, of all we did to promote peace and the prosperity for our fellow man. Well, we're still those same people. We still seek peace above all else.

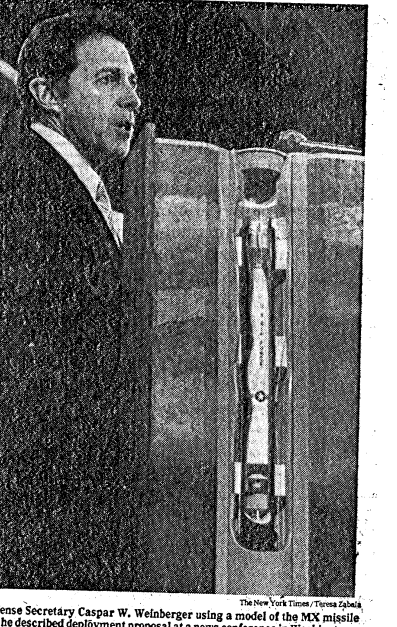
I want to remind our own citizens and those around the world of this tradition of American good will. I receive a letter from a schoolchild who writes to me as a class assignment. It's evident they've discussed the most nightmarish aspects of a nuclear holocaust in their classrooms. Their letters are often full of terror. This should not be so.

"The philosopher Spinoza said, 'Peace is a virtue, a state of mind, a disposition for benevolence, confidence, justice.' Those are the qualities we want our children to inherit. If they are to meet the challenges of tomorrow, we must make the challenges of today.

I began these remarks speaking of our children and I want to close on the same theme. Our children should not grow up frightened. They should not fear the future. We are working to make it peaceful and free. I believe their future can be the brightest, most exciting of any generation. We must reassure them and let them know that their parents and the leaders of their country are seeking above all else to keep them safe, and at peace. I consider this to be a sacred trust.

My fellow Americans, on this Thanksgiving, when we have so much to be grateful for, let us give special thanks for our peace, our freedom and our good government. I've always believed that this land was set aside in an uncommon way, that a divine plan placed this great continent between the oceans to be found by a people from every corner of the earth who had a special love of faith, freedom and peace. Let us reaffirm America's destiny of goodness and good will. Let us work for peace, and as we do, let us remember the lines of the famous hymn, "O God of love, O King of peace, make wars throughout the world to cease and all men's hearts to know Thy peace."

Thank you, good night, and God bless you.



Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger using a model of the MX missile as he described deployment proposal at a news conference in Washington.